2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane [793] of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on [797] aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at child- [846] birth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Few restrictions are placed upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

524 pots, and wooden and stone implements, made by themselves or by their elders especially for them. They construct play-houses after the fashion of dwellings, and often make small fish corrals like those used by their elders. The boys also make toy fish-nets and gigs, and still use the blow-gun as a plaything, although this old type of hunting weapon is now rarely used by the men.

The nearest approach to a game among the Cayapa, either among the children or among the older people, is that which the boys play with their musical tops, although this is not at all a game of chance. The floors of the Cayapa houses, being made of undressed palm-wood, are always too rough for the spinning of tops, and the ground is always too wet. Therefore, to provide a spinning surface, a large mat is spread upon the floor, or a manta or other piece of cloth is stretched tightly over the legs of a boy seated flat upon the floor. Then he, with usually another boy, spins the tops in opposition one to another, the point of the play being to see what top can knock the other from the spinning surface. There is no scoring in this amusement, and the whole pleasure of it is derived from the spinning of the tops and especially from watching them collide with one another. Often two boys are able to keep four or five tops spinning at the same time, so that their collisions create a lively scene and furnish much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to those engaged in the spinning. The spinning is usually done with the hands alone, although sometimes, if a very rapid

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys. 524 857

MATERIAL CULTURE

BUILDINGS

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan. 342 [348] [177 346]

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*. [417]

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name 342 824

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fig. 8, used for catching small mammals, such as wood-rats, which abound in almost all parts of the jungle, and especially in places which have been recently cleared or about the edges of an old clearing. In large measure the boys build and tend these deadfalls, one or two boys sometimes having as many as half a dozen of them. They are constructed as follows: Two rows of upright sticks of almost any material are set just far enough

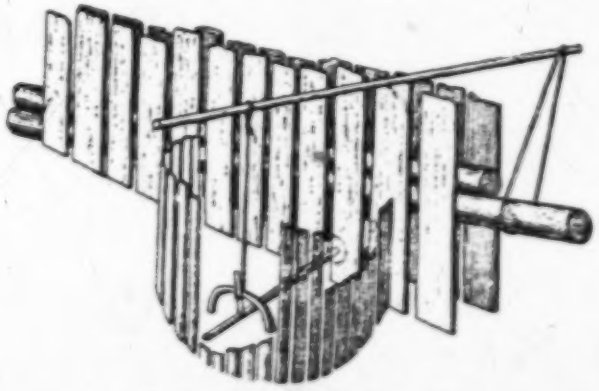

FIG. 8.—Deadfall trap for small mammals

apart to permit the free rise and fall of a log or a heavy section of the stem of a plantain or banana palm. These two rows of sticks form what may be termed the fences of the trap. To one end of this log, which is usually from four to six feet in length, is attached a cord or a piece of pitigua, which in turn is fastened to one end of the stick used as a lever. One of the upright sticks in one of the fences above mentioned is so notched as to receive this lever, which passes diagonally across it and out so that its other end is opposite a point about one-

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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

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By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

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by the children.

Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camerones at Encanto which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

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Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In